

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF
MEMBERS OF PLYMOUTH BRETHREN AND PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES
IN CHRISTCHURCH

A Research Paper
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts in Political Science
in the
University of Canterbury

by
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University of Canterbury

1977

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor W.K. Jackson, for his helpful advice at many points in the project. Special thanks must also go to Miss Juanita Neale, who has spent a great deal of time assisting me in this research.

I would also like to thank the three churches surveyed for their co-operation and, in particular, the 274 members of these churches who completed questionnaires, thereby making this project possible. Finally I would like to thank Mrs A.J. Dellow for typing my manuscript, and my wife, Susan, for proofreading it so willingly.

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ABSTRACT

This research seeks to examine the voting patterns and political attitudes of members of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations. An attempt is also made to study the communication of political values within Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal churches. In particular this study investigates the role of the church leaders in shaping the political attitudes of those in their congregations. This study also attempts to determine the type of people within these churches who were most likely to have been influenced by the church in their political attitudes. In particular, an effort was made to determine whether these people could be identified by certain sociological characteristics.

The results indicated that a large majority of those in both the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal samples were conservative in their political orientation. However, the influence of the church leaders differed greatly between the two denominations. While the Pentecostal pastors seem to have played an important part in shaping the political attitudes of their congregation, the role of the Plymouth Brethren elders was very limited, in comparison. Finally, those influenced in their political attitudes by the church were not found to have distinctive sociological characteristics, except where these coincided with the acceptance or otherwise of certain church teachings.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Immediately preceding the 1975 general election, seventy Auckland clergymen joined a "clergymen for Rowling" campaign. Timed as it was, just before the election, this suggested that many church leaders have begun to play an important role in New Zealand political life. The "clergymen for Rowling" campaign was intended as a public endorsement by the Clergymen of the "Rowling approach" to the position of Prime Minister. These clergymen were particularly enthusiastic about the attitude of Mr Rowling towards industrial relations and racial problems.¹

The suggestion of the Roman Catholic newspaper, *The Tablet*, that its readers should vote National also attracted considerable publicity. It seemed that this advice was based primarily on the Tablet's views about moral issues, particularly abortion. The Tablet editorial stated, "It is the Tablet's view that when the anti-lifers have been weeded out of both parties, then National will be the more trustworthy."² Although the nature of the role of the church in politics has become a controversial matter within many denominations, it seems likely that in the

¹ *The Press*, November 14, 1975.

² Quoted in *The Press*, November 25, 1975.

future many church leaders will be even more vocal on political issues.

In view of this it would seem to be important to gain further information about the political outlook of the churches in New Zealand. The present research is concerned with two denominations which have been very little studied either in New Zealand or overseas. This study also differs from many others on the subject of religion and voting behaviour in that it seeks to provide information about the way in which political values are communicated within these churches. In particular, an attempt is made to evaluate the extent to which the political attitudes of the church leaders influence the opinions of others in the church.

Finally it must also be mentioned that the findings of this research should be interpreted with caution. The extent to which safe generalisations can be made on the basis of findings from one or two specific groups is usually questionable. Because individual churches within both the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations are completely autonomous, there is no guarantee that the findings of this research can be safely generalised to all churches in these denominations. Generalisations can only be made from the samples to the congregations from which they are drawn.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

1. RELIGION AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The subject of voting behaviour has been the focus of several notable studies. Paul Lazarsfeld's *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld *et al.*, 1944) was the first major study of voting behaviour and political opinion which relied on survey research techniques. Lazarsfeld's survey in Erie County, Ohio, focussed on the impact of the mass media on individual vote choice during the 1940 presidential campaign. *The American Voter*, by Campbell *et al.* (1960), is among the most important of the studies of voting behaviour carried out since that date. This study was based mainly on the 1952 and 1956 national surveys by the National Survey Research Centre in the United States. *The American Voter* was also among the first studies to attempt an analysis of group influence in relation to voting behaviour.

The importance of religion in determining voting behaviour was one of the significant findings of these studies. Religious differences were found, by Lazarsfeld and his associates in *The People's Choice*, to be of even greater importance in determining party preference than

differences in socio-economic status.¹ Oscar Glantz carried out one of the first studies designed solely to investigate the relationship between religion and voting in Philadelphia in 1952. The results of this survey confirmed Lazarsfeld's view that religion was an important determinant of voting behaviour in the United States.

There have been many surveys of the impact of religion on voting behaviour since Glantz's study. A common conclusion of these studies is that the voting behaviour of Protestant churchgoers differs significantly from Roman Catholic voting patterns. Four studies undertaken in Great Britain (Birch, 1959; McKenzie and Silver, 1968; Bochel and Denver, 1970; and Butler and Stokes, 1974), one in Canada (Meisel, 1956) and one in Australia (Mol, 1970) found that Protestant churchgoers showed strong support for conservatively-oriented political parties. They also find that Roman Catholic churchgoers tend to support political parties which are towards the left on the political spectrum.²

A substantial difference in political orientation between theologically conservative and liberal churchgoers has also been found by many of the studies on religion and voting behaviour. It appears that those who are conservative

¹ For Catholics in the Erie County study, the Republican vote was 14 per cent at the lowest socio-economic status level, but only 19 per cent at the top level. For Protestants, the variation in Republican vote was from 43 per cent at the lowest socio-economic status level to 76 per cent at the top level.

² See also Greer (1961) on Roman Catholic voting behaviour.

theologically, are more likely to have conservative political views. Four studies in the United States (Johnson, 1967; Hadden, 1969; Balswick, 1970; and Stellway, 1973), and one in Canada (Schindler and Hoffman, 1968), have found that a conservative theological stance was positively related to both "socio-political status quo orientation" and conservative political party preference. Conversely, "liberal" theological beliefs were found to be positively related to socio-political change orientation and liberal political party preference.

A failing of many analyses of the influence of religion on voting behaviour is that nonconformist denominations are aggregated into a single category. This suggests a prejudgement that the voting behaviour of all these denominations is influenced in the same way. The result is that some possibly very interesting and important trends are lost in the total statistic gained. Both Bochel and Denver (1970, p.209) in Great Britain, and David Knoke (1974, p.333) in the United States, complain that few studies which include both political preference and religion distinguish between the nonconformist denominations.

Most of the New Zealand studies on religion and voting behaviour have the same failing. Both Milne (1958) and Mitchell (1967) combine a number of smaller non-conformist denominations in their analysis, yet do not make it explicit which groups these were. The failure to differentiate between the various nonconformist denominations has limited the ability of this literature,

both to predict and to explain trends in the voting behaviour of those in nonconformist denominations.

A second deficiency of many of the studies on religion and voting behaviour is that they fail to distinguish regular church attenders from those who attend only occasionally or are members in name only. Most New Zealand studies have investigated only the connection between denominational affiliation and voting behaviour. Reviewing these studies, Mitchell (1969, p.211) concludes that religion is not a strong influence and that the effect of religion is gradually being eroded. While this may be a correct assessment of the importance of religious influences on the voting behaviour of the community at large, it ignores the possibility that religious factors may be an important determinant of the political attitudes of those people who attend church regularly.

Indeed those studies which have examined the voting behaviour of regular churchgoers have indicated that for these people religious influences are still very important. Three studies carried out in Great Britain (McKenzie and Silver, 1968; Bochel and Denver, 1970; and Butler and Stokes, 1974), and one study in Australia (Mol, 1970), have found that Protestants who attended church regularly were more likely to vote for the more conservative party than Protestants who attended only occasionally or not at all.

The purpose of the present research is to provide reliable information about the way in which religious factors have affected the political attitudes of those in close contact with their church.

2. GROUP NORMS OR RELIGIOUS NORMS

Several studies on the impact of religion on voting behaviour use a group, rather than a religious norm, as the starting point of their analysis. These studies attempt to identify both the people who are most influential in determining the congregation's attitude towards politics and those most likely to respond to this influence.

One of these studies, by Estus and Overington (1970), suggests what type of people are most likely to be included in each of these categories. Estus and Overington found in their survey of Protestant lay churchmen in the United States, that there was a consistent over-representation of people of middle and upper class status among those who regularly attended church. As a result the Protestant churches tended to represent middle class values. However, Estus and Overington also found that people of lower class status tended to conform most closely to congregational norms, even though these norms generally represented a middle class social outlook.

Prompted by these findings, Estus and Overington postulated that most Protestant church congregations were comprised of two types of members, which they termed 'Realized' and Aspirant'. The 'Realized' group of churchgoers consisted of those in the congregation who were of middle or upper class social status. These people also tended to be the most active in church activities. The 'Aspirant' group was composed of the lower status people in the church. This distinction arose from Estus and Overington's assumption that a relationship existed between

the overconformity of the lower classes to congregational norms and the social aspirations of those classes. They postulated that the aspiration of the lower classes to middle class status was the primary reason for this overconformity.³

Estus and Overington have thus developed a general theory for the communication of social values in a church situation. They assume that, since those of middle class status comprise the majority, their influence will be most felt. However the lower class 'Aspirant' group of churchgoers were found to overconform to the congregational norms, and Estus and Overington claim that this was because of their aspiration to a higher social status.

Bochel and Denver (1970), in an article on the voting behaviour of members of the Church of Scotland, also attempt to analyse the impact of religion on voting in terms of a group norm. They also found that non-manual workers constituted the largest occupational group in the church and were the most active in terms of attendance and office holding. It is generally believed that a majority of those in non-manual occupations vote Conservatively. However, Bochel and Denver also found that the manual workers in their sample were more likely to vote for the Conservative Party than is usual for those of lower class status. They explain this by suggesting that the manual workers tend to conform to the social and political attitudes of the dominant non-manual occupational group with

³ This follows Robert Merton who posited five types of possible adaptation to social activities: Conformity, Innovation, Ritualism, Retreatism and Rebellion. See Merton (1957, pp.139-141).

whom they come into contact through church attendance.

In his survey of congregations from the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations in Auckland, Reynolds (1972) obtained findings similar to those of Bochel and Denver. A majority of those surveyed were again of middle and upper class status. In addition, the lower status occupational group showed a greater than usual tendency to vote for the conservatively-oriented political party. Like both Estus and Overington and Bochel and Denver, Reynolds also interprets his findings as indicating that the minority lower status group were influenced in their political attitudes by a reference group of higher occupational status.

Thus these three studies share the assumption that the aspiration of the lower classes to a higher social status is the primary reason for their following the lead of the middle and upper classes, by voting conservatively. An equally feasible explanation, however, is that lower class people may for some reason be more responsive to the teachings of the church. A church is a religious institution as well as a social gathering place, and a theory which focuses on only one of these functions is likely to furnish only a partial explanation of the motivations of its members. The teachings of the church are likely to be particularly important in the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren denominations,⁴ since they both have a very fundamental

⁴ It is arguable as to whether, in fact, the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal churches should be categorised as denominations or as sects. However, both these churches are becoming less exclusive in outlook, tending to develop a more tolerant view of both other denominations and secular society. For this reason it seems in order to classify them as denominations rather than as sects. For an analysis of the characteristics of sects and denominations see Wilson (1967, pp.23-25).

theological stance.

It was largely for this reason that these particular denominations were chosen for this research. Existing studies, which have sought to analyse the impact of religion on political attitudes using a group norm, have been confined to the major nonconformist denominations. This research seeks to extend the scope of this method of analysis to two of the more theologically fundamentalist denominations.

3. RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

It is likely that the teachings of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations would be an important source of the political socialization of their members. In both these denominations, exposition of the Bible is regarded as of great importance and is an essential part of most church activities. Because of this it is necessary to examine the content of the teachings of these denominations which may be relevant to the political socialization of their members. As noted earlier in this chapter, most of the present studies on the voting behaviour of nonconformist denominations indicate that in churches where a Conservative theological position is held there is a bias towards support for conservatively oriented political parties. Because of this the following explanation of the relevant teachings of Christian fundamentalism is largely confined to those which would encourage a conservative social and political outlook.

The key to the relationship between a conservative

theological position and conservative social and political views would seem to lie in an understanding of the conceptions which Christian fundamentalists have of God and man. God is viewed as having supernatural power and perfect wisdom. By contrast, man's knowledge is seen as rather inadequate and his nature as sinful. The efforts of man to improve his condition are therefore considered to be doomed to failure, unless he secures divine forgiveness for his sin. It is also considered that man will only be successful in overcoming his problems if he closely adheres to the directions revealed by God in the Bible. This reliance on biblical principles for direction, and the corresponding conviction that strictly human efforts to improve the human condition are destined to fail, serves to make the fundamentalist Christian critical of attempts at social reform.⁵

Politically conservative people frequently have a view of man which is equally pessimistic so that they also tend to be sceptical of any 'final' social or political solutions. This similarity in outlook is observed by W.H. Oliver (1964). He claims, "politically conservative people have a scepticism when faced with over great claims made on behalf of the individual or of society - claims that either is capable of perfection, or even of substantial improvement in the short order; a scepticism about the temporal nature and destiny of man which stems from the sort of pessimistic feeling about human nature which has its theological expression in the doctrine of origin."

⁵ This section relies heavily on Stellway (19

(p.14). The similarity of the basic principles of political conservatism to those of Christian fundamentalism makes it reasonable to expect that many who are theologically conservative would also be politically conservative.

Empirical support for this is available from a survey by Milton Rokeach (1960, p.413), who asked an English sample a series of questions designed to measure the respondent's view of man and society. He found that respondents classified as politically conservative were more likely than those in any other political category to agree with the statement that 'Man on his own is helpless and miserable.'⁶

If it is true that conservative Christians have a similar conception about the way in which society is structured to those who espouse conservative political ideas, it is to be expected that conservative Christians would also have conservative opinions on political issues. This implies that they would tend to support the existing institutions of society. It is also to be expected that Christian fundamentalists would endorse the political ideals of individualism, limited government and private enterprise.

There is some evidence that, historically, these principles have in fact received some support from theologically conservative Christians. Probably the first evidence in support of this was Max Weber's (1930) contention in *The Puritan Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* that the social outlook of Protestantism, and more particularly Calvinism, was an important stimulus to the rise of industrial

⁶ This is remarkably similar to the view of man put forward by Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (Hobbes, 1968).

capitalism. In a similar vein, McLoughlin (1959, p.6) maintains that in the United States during the nineteenth century, "evangelicalism became a national religion wedded to the individualistic ideals of Whiggism in politics and laissez-faire in economics." In addition, prominent revivalist preachers such as Dwight L. Moody and Billy Graham are well known for their ultra-conservative views on politics and economics. Billy Graham, for example, on various occasions attacked the deficit spending of the New Deal, the "give-away foreign aid program", and the evils of "big government" and "big labour" (McLoughlin, p.505).

Evidence of similar attitudes among Pentecostal churchgoers comes from a survey of the social and political attitudes of the rapidly growing Pentecostal congregations in South America. The study suggested that the stress of Brazilian Pentecostals on personal salvation led to an effective, if unplanned, social conservatism in that members of this denomination were encouraged to accept the existing status quo for society as a whole. The practical implications of this social conservatism were indicated by the rejection of the idea of having religious concern for social problems, by a large majority of the Brazilian Pentecostals surveyed (Turner, 1970, p.224).

In view of this evidence it is to be expected that the majority of theologically conservative Christians in New Zealand would also hold conservative attitudes on social and political issues. Consequently it seems reasonable to hypothesise that a majority of Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostals in New Zealand would support the more

conservatively oriented National Party.

The conservative political orientation of Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostals is likely to have been strengthened by their attitude towards moral issues. This is likely to have been especially relevant to their voting in the 1975 election because of the recent and continuing controversies concerning the laws regarding abortion and homosexuality. On both these issues a literal interpretation of the Bible encourages a conservative viewpoint. The conservative position on abortion law reform, held by a majority in both these denominations, is based on traditional Christian teachings which emphasise the sanctity of life. Biblical support is available for such a view from commandments such as "Thou shalt not kill."⁷ There is even more direct Biblical support for the opposition of these denominations towards homosexual practices. In the submissions offered by the Plymouth Brethren to the select committee considering the "Crimes Amendment Bill", a series of Biblical statements were quoted in opposition to the practice of homosexuality.⁸

It is likely that these conservative views concerning moral issues would have constituted another factor which influenced members of both the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations to vote for the National Party.

⁷ Exodus 20: 13. Many members of the Plymouth Brethren denomination were, in fact, either conscientious objectors or non-combatants during World War I and World War II. For a review of Plymouth Brethren attitudes towards war see P.J. Lineham (undated, pp.179-180).

⁸ For example, Leviticus 18: 22; 20: 13. Romans 1: 26-27. Quoted in Hansard, pp.2781 and 2790.

Although both major parties allowed a free vote on both the abortion and homosexuality issues in 1975, the National Party is generally seen as being the more conservative on moral issues.⁹

Another factor which may be relevant is the possible implication in the teachings of these denominations that politicians should refrain from personal attacks on other members of Parliament and concentrate instead on discussing issues in a gentlemanly manner. This is implied by the churches' stress on Christian virtues such as kindness, self-control and gentleness. This factor may have worked in favour of the National Party under the leadership of Sir Keith Holyoake and Sir John Marshall, who were both generally acknowledged to possess these qualities. Conversely, it is also possible that since Mr Muldoon has become the National Party leader his more abrasive style may have weakened the support for the National Party of some of the members of these denominations. However it seems probable that this would have had a smaller impact than those factors previously discussed. This is because it is less directly related to the teachings of these denominations.

⁹ One indication of this was the plea by the Roman Catholic newspaper, *The Tablet*, that its readers vote National on the grounds that the National Party was more conservative on moral issues. See *The Press*, November 25, 1975, p.20.

The voting records of the Members of Parliament support this perception to some degree. Although both major parties allowed a free vote on both the abortion and homosexuality issues in 1975, National members of Parliament, in general, were more conservative on each of these issues than their Labour counterparts. The Hospitals Amendment Bill was supported by 86% of the National members who voted on it, compared with only 65% of the Labour members who voted. Similarly, while 67% of the National members who voted, voted against the Crimes Amendment Bill, only 44% of the Labour members who voted, were against the Bill.

Finally it is probable that a small proportion of mainly older members of the Plymouth Brethren denomination still adhere to a line of teaching which used to be actively taught in many Plymouth Brethren churches. The basis of this teaching was that since the Christian's real home is in heaven he should not take part in "this-worldly" activities such as politics. As a result of this teaching it is likely that some of the older members of the Plymouth Brethren denomination feel that it is wrong to vote.

4. A GROUP ANALYSIS OF THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN AND PENTECOSTAL DENOMINATIONS

It is necessary to discuss the way in which a group analysis may be applicable to denominations which adhere to theologically fundamentalist principles. Several studies utilizing a group method of analysis have sought to identify those in the church whose views have the greatest impact on the political attitudes of others in their congregation. They have also attempted to discover the type of people most likely to respond to this influence.

It seems unlikely that the groups claimed by Estus and Overington to fulfil these roles in the churches which they studied would fulfil the same roles in the more theologically fundamentalist denominations being studied in this research. This is because Estus and Overington envisaged that the communication of political attitudes in the church would be primarily on a class basis. In particular they contended that the middle class social outlook of the majority of the congregation would be

imitated by the lower status members of the church. The aspiration of the lower classes to achieve a middle-class life style was the motivation behind this conformity in the Estus and Overington theory. Estus and Overington suggested that the aspiring lower classes viewed church attendance as a means of attaining higher social status.

This does not seem to be directly applicable to the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren denominations. This is because the crucial motivation of the lower classes in the Estus and Overington theory, the desire for higher social status, would seem to be a relatively unimportant reason for membership of either of these denominations. The Pentecostal denomination is not really a "respectable" church to attend, since it is popularly regarded as being rather too emotional. Similarly the common historical origins of the Plymouth Brethren with the Exclusive Brethren has tarnished their image in many people's minds. This is because of the very strict social practices of the Exclusive Brethren.¹⁰ In view of this it is most unlikely that aspirations for increased social status would be an important motivating factor for attendance at either of these denominations. Thus it seems unlikely that any relationship between religion and voting behaviour among members of these denominations would result from their aspirations to a higher social status.

The relatively high priority given to religious teachings in these denominations suggests that those able

¹⁰ See B.R. Wilson, "The Exclusive Brethren", in Wilson (1967).

to determine the content of these teachings will also have the greatest influence over the social and political attitudes of the congregation. Since it seems probable that the church leaders would have had a preponderant influence on the shaping of the theological teachings of the church,¹¹ it is likely that they would also have a good deal of influence over their congregation's political attitudes. This hypothesis contrasts with the theory of Estus and Overington, who assumed that those in the middle and upper class status of the congregation would hold the most influence with respect to social and political attitudes.

Estus and Overington also suggest that it will be those of lower socio-economic class status whose social and political attitudes will be most influenced by their attendance at church, since they will be anxious to conform to the congregation's middle-class social outlook.¹² There is also evidence which indicates that the lower classes may be the most open to the churches' influence, even in denominations where religious teachings are of prime importance. Erich Goode found, in a study of the relationship between social class and church participation, that individuals of manual status levels appear to display a considerably higher level of religious response. Lower class people were observed to have a greater feeling that

¹¹ Johnson (1966, pp.204-5) and Moberg (1964, pp.502-3) provide evidence in support of this.

¹² Lane (1962) provides evidence that certain members of the lower classes may be more open to influence by an authoritarian leadership.

the church and religion were important forces in their lives (Goode, 1966, p.111).

In view of this finding it seems possible that the lower classes may be more likely to be influenced in their political attitudes by the church without necessarily being motivated by a desire to increase their social status. That is, because lower class church attenders were found to have a higher level of religious concern, it seems useful to hypothesise that they were also more likely to allow their political attitudes to be shaped by the teachings of the church.

There may also be others in the congregation whose political opinions are especially susceptible to influence by the church. It is possible that women may come into this category. There is evidence that women are over-represented in the Christian churches (Reynolds, 1972, p.41). In view of this, it seems useful to hypothesise that the political attitudes of women may be more open to influence by the church than those of men. The study by Reynolds provides some support for this contention. In his survey of several nonconformist denominations in Auckland, Reynolds (1972, p.41) found that women were more likely than men to follow the conservative social outlook of these churches by voting National. Whereas 63.3% of the females in his sample voted National, that party was supported by only 53% of the males surveyed.¹³

It is also possible that certain age groups within the churches surveyed may have been more influenced in

¹³ Statistically significant at the 0.05 level of significance (Reynolds, 1972, p.41).

their political attitudes by the church than others. In well-established denominations it seems likely that since older churchgoers will have been exposed to the influence of the church for a longer period of time their political attitudes will have been most influenced by the church. The Reynold's finding, that older people attending well-established, nonconformist denominations in Auckland were more likely to vote National than younger members of these churches, may well constitute empirical support for this contention. Whereas 69.9% of those over the age of sixty in the churches surveyed by Renolds voted for the National Party, only 50% of those under the age of thirty voted for that party (Reynolds, 1972, p.41). Because the Plymouth Brethren denomination is well established¹⁴ it will therefore be hypothesised that older members of the Plymouth Brethren sample would have been most influenced by the church in their political attitudes.

However the Pentecostal church surveyed in this research was established more recently. Consequently there is less reason to suspect that older members of the Pentecostal sample will have been the most influenced by the church in their political attitudes. Because it seems probable that the older churchgoers would have been most established in their political

¹⁴It is about 150 years since the Plymouth Brethren denomination was first established in Great Britain. See Peter L. Embly, "The Early Development of the Plymouth Brethren", in Wilson (1967).

attitudes on joining the church,¹⁵ it will therefore be hypothesised that younger members of the Pentecostal sample would have been most likely to have been influenced in their political attitudes, by the church.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter it seems likely that the church leaders, in both the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations, would have had a good deal of influence over the content of the religious teachings of these churches. Because of this, the extent to which the church leaders were able to impress their attitudes on the church as a whole was an important aspect of this study. The degree of authority which the church leaders possessed was considered to be of particular importance. It seems likely that the more hierarchical the church structure, and the greater the degree of authority exercised by the church leaders in doctrinal matters, the more likely it will have been that their political opinions were transferred to others in the church.

There would seem to be a contrast in this respect between the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren denominations. Because the Plymouth Brethren congregations were initially brought into being by the desire of their members to seek after truth, they tended to be independent and self-governing. Consequently there is a less marked authority structure within their churches.

¹⁵ The study by Brookes and Ashenden of floating voters, in Wellington and Palmerston North, supports this assumption. They found that respondents under the age of 35 showed a greater tendency to change their political allegiance than older respondents (Brookes and Ashenden, 1967, p.11).

However, if the dominant position of the pastor in the Pentecostal churches studied overseas is also true of Pentecostal churches in New Zealand, it seems likely that the political attitudes of the Pentecostal pastor would command much more influence than those of the Plymouth Brethren elder. Bryan R. Wilson (1967, pp.144 and 150), in a study of the role of the pastor in Pentecostal churches in Britain, comments,

"Pentecostal congregations originate principally by revivalism; their members have responded to a leader and still need a pastor to shepherd the flock... In practice, the idea of the priesthood of all believers is only weakly held among contemporary Pentecostals, who are generally people of limited articulateness and who require very much to be ministered unto... there is no pretence of democratic participation of local people in the leader's decisions, which are interpreted... as God-sent directives and opportunities."

Similarly, Frederick Turner (1970, p.218) claimed that one reason for the success of Pentecostalism in South America is the fact that, "it gives unquestioned authority to individual pastors." In view of this evidence, it seems useful to hypothesise that in the congregations surveyed in this research the political attitudes of the Pentecostal pastors will have a greater impact on the opinions of others in their church than those of the Plymouth Brethren elders.

5. HYPOTHESES

The discussion in this chapter may be summarized in the form of hypotheses, as follows:

(i) Those who regularly attend the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal churches surveyed in this research are more likely to have voted for the National Party than is usual among those of similar social status position.

(ii) The political attitudes of the church leaders will have a greater impact within the Pentecostal congregation than in the Plymouth Brethren churches.

(iii) Churchgoers of a lower social status will be influenced by their church to a greater extent than those of higher social status.

(iv) Female churchgoers are more likely than male churchgoers to be influenced by the church in their political attitudes.

(v) Within the Plymouth Brethren denomination older churchgoers are more likely than younger churchgoers to be influenced by the church in their political attitudes.

(vi) Within the Pentecostal denomination younger churchgoers are more likely than older churchgoers to be influenced by the church in their political attitudes.

The present research takes these hypotheses as a starting point.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

1. CHOICE OF SAMPLE

The choice of the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren denominations for analysis was not determined solely by the desire to study theologically fundamentalist denominations. Another reason was that no research has yet been done in New Zealand on the political attitudes of members of these denominations, apart from the surveys of nonconformist denominations as a whole. Also it is probable that each of these denominations has a comparatively large number of regular church attenders.

Census data tend to understate the numerical importance of these groups in comparison with other denominations. There are two reasons for this. The first is that the more established denominations benefit from the large number of people who either attend the churches only occasionally, or are members in name only. By contrast it is likely that the statistical aggregates of both the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren denominations understate their true membership. It is probable that many of the members of both the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations object to stating their denomination in the

census,¹ preferring to put merely "Christian", or, in the case of some Pentecostals, the name of the denomination in which they were brought up. This is because many Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostals consider that their movement should not have separate denominational status.²

An additional reason for studying these denominations was that both of these churches are now fairly vocal on social and political issues in New Zealand. The Plymouth Brethren made submissions to the select committee considering the "Crimes Amendment Bill" in 1975, which were quoted in the Parliamentary debate by both the Member of Parliament for Waikato, the Hon. L.R. Adams-Schneider (Hansard, p.278) and the Member for Hamilton East, Dr Rogers (Hansard, p.2790). Many Pentecostal churches have also become more vocal recently on social and political issues. The invitation, issued by the pastors of the Pentecostal church studied in this survey, to the leaders of both major political parties to address their congregation immediately prior to the 1975 election, is evidence of this.³

In the present research it was intended to survey only those who were regular church attenders. In order to do this, the sample of respondents belonging to the two

¹ For an illustration of the difficulties in determining the actual number attending Plymouth Brethren churches from census figures, see 'A Peculiar People', unpublished manuscript by P.J. Lineham, pp.175-177.

² This is illustrated by the fact that neither the Plymouth Brethren nor the Pentecostals have used those names on their churches.

³ The then Leader of the Opposition, Mr Muldoon, actually addressed the congregation; Mr Rowling declined the invitation.

Plymouth Brethren churches was drawn from the membership lists of these churches. To ensure that only those in regular attendance at these churches were surveyed, the lists were updated in consultation with some of the church elders. Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain a sample from the Pentecostal church in exactly the same manner since that church had no full list of its members. Instead, the Pentecostal sample was drawn from those at the mid-week church service, the service usually attended by the most active church members. To check whether those sampled were in fact regular church attenders, a question was included in the questionnaire asking the respondents how often they attended church.⁴ It was hoped that this would help solve some of the problems of sampling.

2. QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

There were basically four parts to the questionnaire. The first section (Questions 1-6) was designed to provide information about the political allegiances of the respondents. Respondents were asked how they voted in the 1975 general election. In addition, they were questioned as to whether they regularly supported any political party.

The second section was designed to provide information about the way in which political attitudes were communicated in the churches surveyed (Questions 7-18 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire, 7-17 in the Pentecostal questionnaire). The design of this section followed Bochel and Denver's method of determining which

⁴ Question 1.

respondents were influenced in their political attitudes by the church. Bochel and Denver asked their sample which party they thought most people in their church had voted for. Their assumption was that the church would be more likely to have shaped the political attitudes of respondents who had an accurate perception of the voting pattern of their church congregation. The present sample were also asked to identify which party they thought most of the people in their church had voted for.⁵

In addition, respondents were asked which party they thought most of the church leaders had voted for.⁶

During the pretest of the questionnaire, however, it was found that many respondents selected the "Don't Know" option to either or both of these questions. To gain a greater positive response two follow-up questions were included, asking these respondents to guess at the party they thought a majority of their congregation, and of their church leaders, might have voted for.⁷ In addition, respondents were asked directly how much they had been influenced by the political attitudes of others in their church⁸ and by what they had heard about the election from their church pulpit.⁹

⁵ Question 11.

⁶ Question 13.

⁷ Questions 12 and 14.

⁸ Question 8.

⁹ Question 17 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire, question 16 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

The third section of the questionnaire was concerned with the impact of religious teachings on the political attitudes of those in the sample. Firstly, respondents were asked to state how much their Christian beliefs had influenced their political ideas.¹⁰ An immediately following question asked the respondents to explain how their religious beliefs had influenced their political attitudes.¹¹ A number of other questions were also designed to identify the religious beliefs considered by the respondents to be relevant to their political attitudes. Among these was a question which attempted to determine the issue having the greatest impact on the respondent's voting in the 1975 general election.¹² However the question was put in a slightly adapted form in the Pentecostal questionnaire since a member of the Plymouth Brethren respondents interpreted this question as asking which issue was most important for the population as a whole. Also adapted slightly were the questions designed to probe the respondents' reactions to prominent politicians in New Zealand.¹³ An additional reason for altering these questions was that a substantial number of the Plymouth Brethren respondents did not reply to some of the open-ended

¹⁰ Question 19 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; question 18 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

¹¹ Question 20 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; question 19 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

¹² Question 21 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; question 20 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

¹³ Questions 24-27 in Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; questions 23-24 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

questions. The discovery that the questionnaire would have to be filled out by members of the Pentecostal denomination during a church service, also dictated that options be provided for some of the open-ended questions. This was to enable the questionnaire to be filled out more quickly, as requested by the church leaders.

The final section included questions about the sex, age, occupation and education of the respondents.¹⁴ (Questions 28-34 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; questions 25-31 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.)

3. ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was completed by the Pentecostal respondents at the conclusion of their mid-week church service. The questionnaires were then collected from the congregation as they left the church. However, it was not possible to use this method with the Plymouth Brethren churches. Instead the questionnaires were delivered personally to the homes of members of one of the Plymouth Brethren churches. It was thought that this would encourage a higher response rate by enabling the writer to answer any queries concerning the purpose of the questionnaire. However, a shortage of available time meant that it was not possible to distribute the questionnaires in this fashion to both Plymouth Brethren congregations. Consequently the questionnaire was mailed to members of the second Plymouth Brethren church. Reminders to the two congregations to return their questionnaires were given

¹⁴ Copies of both questionnaires are included in Appendix I.

several times at the Sunday morning services of these churches.

It is recognised that the differences in the administration of the questionnaire may cast some doubts on the validity of the comparisons made. However, it did not seem possible to administer the questionnaire among the three congregations in exactly the same manner and yet obtain an adequate response rate. In view of this it was thought to be preferable to carry out the research in the manner described, rather than to discontinue the study.

4. RESPONSE RATE

Since the questionnaire was completed by the Pentecostal respondents after their mid-week church service, a response rate approaching 100% was obtained of those present.¹⁵

The 113 questionnaires received from members of the two Plymouth Brethren churches represented 57.4% of those surveyed. To establish whether those who returned the questionnaires were representative of the total membership of these churches, the social characteristics of those returning questionnaires were compared with the total membership of these churches. To enable this comparison to be made details of the sex, age and occupation¹⁶ of each member of the two churches were obtained. This was

¹⁵ Only a very small number, probably less than five, handed in uncompleted questionnaires.

¹⁶ In thirteen cases details of the occupation of the church members could not be obtained.

done with the assistance of elders from each church. The social characteristics of those returning questionnaires were then compared with those of the total membership of these churches. It was found that those returning questionnaires were in fact a representative cross-section in terms of sex, age and occupational status. There was found to be no statistically significant difference (at the 0.05 level) between the sex, age, or occupational status of those completing questionnaires, and the social characteristics of the total membership of the two churches.¹⁷

¹⁷ See Tables 1-3, Appendix II.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

1. REFINEMENT OF THE SAMPLE

As mentioned in chapter three, it was intended that only active members of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations would be surveyed. It was evident from the replies to the question which asked respondents how often they attended church that the sample did, in fact, consist mainly of regular churchgoers. Fully 2600 of the sample of 273 replied that they attended church at least once a week. A further five indicated that they attended about once a month. This left only two respondents who replied that they attended church only occasionally. In order that the sample would consist only of those who were regular churchgoers, the respondents who indicated that they attended church only occasionally were excluded from further analysis. This follows the study by Bochel and Denver in which those who attended church once a month or more were classified as active church attenders, in contrast to those who attended only occasionally or were members in name only.

2. VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF THE SAMPLE

As outlined earlier, there are good theoretical reasons for hypothesising that a majority in both the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren denominations would support the National Party.

Table 4.1: Percentage Distribution of the Vote by Denomination
(This was the self-reported vote cast in 1975.)

Political Party	Plymouth Brethren	Pentecostal	Total Population	
National	66.9% (75)	65.0% (104)	39.2%	760,462
Labour	13.4% (15)	21.9% (35)	32.8%	636,322
Social Credit	1.8% (2)	1.3% (2)	6.2%	119,123
Values	2.7% (3)	- -	4.3%	83,211
Other Parties	- -	- -	0.2%	3,755
Did Not Vote	15.2% (17)	11.2% (18)	17.3%	335,305
Did Not State	- -	0.6% (1)	- -	-
Total	100.0% (112)	100.0% (160)	100.0%	1,938,178

The voting pattern of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal churchgoers in this sample supports this hypothesis. Table 4.1 shows the voting preferences of the sample in the 1975 general election. The table indicates that approximately two thirds of the respondents in each denomination voted for the National Party. This compares with a figure of around two fifths for the population as a whole. Similarly, the percentage of respondents from both denominations voting for either Labour, Social Credit, or Values was lower than for the population as a whole.

However, it may be that the strong support for the National Party, shown by the sample in the 1975 election, was merely a reflection of the degree to which the National Party was favoured by the population as a whole in that

election. The National Party received 4.8% of the votes cast in 1975, 8 per cent more than the share gained by Labour.

There are two pieces of evidence which indicate that this was not the case. The first is made apparent by a comparison of the voting patterns of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal respondents with the voting figures for the eight Christchurch electorates.¹

Table 4.2 shows that 47% of Christchurch voters favoured the Labour Party in 1975, which was greater than the 42% who voted National. Thus the voting pattern of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal respondents was, in fact, markedly different from the voting pattern for Christchurch as a whole.

Table 4.2: Comparison of the 1975 Voting Pattern of the Sample with Christchurch as a whole.

Political Party	Plymouth Brethren	Pentecostal	Christchurch Voting
National	79.0% (75)	73.2% (104)	42.1% (63,193)
Labour	15.7% (15)	24.7% (35)	46.9% (70,273)
Social Credit	2.1% (2)	1.4% (2)	3.8% (5,728)
Values	3.2% (3)	- -	7.0% (10,519)
Other Parties	- -	- -	0.2% (286)
Did Not State	- -	0.7% (1)	- -
Total	100.0% (95)	100.0% (142)	100.0% (149,999)

The replies to the question as to whether the respondent regularly supported any political party,² also

¹ In 1975 these were Avon, Christchurch Central, Lyttelton, Papanui, Riccarton, St. Albans, Sydenham and Wigram.

² Questions 4-5.

suggest that the preference of a majority of the sample for the National Party was not confined to their voting in the 1975 election. Approximately half the respondents from each denomination, 52.2% and 46.6% of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal respondents respectively, affirmed that they regularly supported, or voted for, the National Party. Thus it appears that not only did a majority of the sample vote for the National Party in the 1975 election, but also a large proportion regularly support that party.

It may also be noted from Table 4.1 that the percentage of the sample who did not vote was somewhat lower than for the population as a whole. This difference was most marked among the Pentecostal respondents. This suggests that those attending the Pentecostal church may have received some encouragement to vote.³ However the difference between the abstention rate of the Plymouth Brethren respondents and the population as a whole was much smaller. It may well be explained by the possibility that those willing to complete the questionnaire may also have been those who were more interested in politics, and thus were more likely to have been among those who voted.

3. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

It is possible that the religious beliefs of the respondents were one of the more important factors influencing the voting behaviour of those in the sample.

³ This is similar to Bochel and Denver's finding that Church of Scotland churchgoers were more likely to vote than those who did not regularly attend church. See Bochel and Denver (1970, p.217).

Several questions were included in the questionnaire to provide information about the impact of religious teachings on the political attitudes of the respondent. However, as outlined in chapter three, many of these questions were put to the Pentecostal sample in an adapted form.

Consequently, although the response to these questions provided some information, any conclusion based solely on these replies must be of a very tentative nature.

The possibility that the political attitudes of the respondents were affected by their religious beliefs is given more credence by the response to the question, 'How much do you think your Christian beliefs have influenced your political ideas.'⁴ Exactly 89.4% of the respondents from each denomination indicated that their Christian beliefs had influenced their political ideas to some extent. The only difference between the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren respondents in their response to this question, was that Pentecostal respondents were more likely to indicate that their Christian beliefs had influenced their political ideas "a great deal". Whereas 62.1% of the Pentecostal respondents indicated this, only 34.5% of the Plymouth Brethren respondents did so.

It was suggested in chapter two that, for two reasons, the religious teachings of these denominations would have encouraged their members to vote National. Firstly it was predicted that theologically conservative Christians would also tend to have conservative views on

⁴ Question 19 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; question 18 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

economic and social issues. Secondly it was expected that the conservative views on moral issues of members of these denominations would also encourage many of them to support the National Party.

Both these contentions were supported by the response to the questions about the impact of religious teachings. However, while Pentecostal respondents were more likely to emphasise the importance of moral issues, the Plymouth Brethren tended to be more concerned with other social and economic issues. This difference may be detected in the response to the question which asked the respondents to state how their Christian beliefs had influenced their political ideas. Whereas 58% of the Pentecostal respondents who answered this question mentioned their views on moral issues, this was done by only 37% of the Plymouth Brethren respondents answering the question. Plymouth Brethren respondents were more likely to indicate that their Christian beliefs had encouraged a conservative outlook on more general economic and social issues. In particular, Plymouth Brethren respondents were more likely to express concern about such matters as 'the growing threat to the freedom of the individual posed by the Labour Party's socialistic tendencies' or 'the dangers of militant unionism'.

This does not mean that the Plymouth Brethren respondents were unconcerned with moral issues. In their replies to several of the questions in this section, moral issues were mentioned by the Plymouth Brethren respondents

as being important.⁵ In fact 45% of the Plymouth Brethren respondents mentioned the impact of moral issues on their political attitudes in at least one of their replies to the questions in this section. Nevertheless the greater concern of the Pentecostal members of the sample with moral issues is evident from their even more frequent references to these issues.

It was also predicted in chapter two that members of both these denominations may be inclined to dislike politicians who indulge in personal attacks. It was thought that an emphasis on Christian virtues such as self-control and gentleness may have encouraged this attitude. If this were an important consideration among members of the sample, it is possible that many respondents may have disliked Mr Muldoon, even though they supported the National Party in 1975.

The replies of the Plymouth Brethren respondents provided some support for this contention. Not only was Mr Muldoon the politician most frequently viewed with disfavour, but he also received fewer favourable comments than did Mr Rowling. In addition, the former leader of the National Party, Sir John Marshall, received favourable comment from over twice as many Plymouth Brethren respondents as those stating that they especially liked Mr Muldoon.

The response of the Pentecostal respondents to a question asking for their personal reactions to the leaders of the National, Labour and Social Credit parties indicates

⁵ Questions 20, 21, 23, 25 and 27.

a slightly different attitude. Although the frequency with which Mr Muldoon was actively disliked by the Pentecostal respondents was greater than for either Mr Rowling or Mr Beetham, he was also more likely to attract a positively favourable reply. However, as the question put to the Pentecostal churchgoers was amended slightly from that answered by the Plymouth Brethren respondents, these results must be viewed cautiously. Since there were options provided in the question put to the Pentecostal sample, it attracted answers from almost all the respondents. It can therefore be concluded, with confidence, that a majority of the Pentecostal respondents did not prefer Mr Rowling's style of leadership. However, as the questions put to the Plymouth Brethren sample were in an open-ended form, it was answered by a smaller proportion of the sample.⁶ Consequently it is necessary to view these results more cautiously.

In short, the replies of the Plymouth Brethren respondents give some credence to the suggestion that members of that denomination prefer politicians who discuss issues in a gentlemanly manner. However, the fact that a large majority of the Plymouth Brethren respondents voted National in 1975, in spite of the rather abrasive style of that party's leader, indicates that this was of less consequence than other factors.

It was also anticipated that a small proportion of Plymouth Brethren would consider that it was wrong to vote.

⁶ These two questions were answered by 59.8% and 51.8% respectively, of the Plymouth Brethren respondents.

Historically the religious teachings of the Plymouth Brethren have regarded the act of voting as "this-worldly". Therefore a question was included in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire to determine the extent to which this attitude was held.⁷ Of the 17 Plymouth Brethren respondents who did not vote, six replied that it was because of their belief that it was wrong to vote. This was 5.3% of the Plymouth Brethren sample. It is to be expected, however, that those who believe that it is wrong to vote would be slightly under-represented in this sample. It seems probable that these people would be the most likely to object to completing a questionnaire on their political attitudes. For this reason it is likely that the figure of 5.3% is a slight understatement of the percentage in these Plymouth Brethren churches who feel it is wrong to vote.

4. INFLUENCE OF CHURCH LEADERS

Another of the hypotheses advanced during the theoretical discussion was that Pentecostal churchgoers would be influenced by the political attitudes of their church leaders to a greater extent than the Plymouth Brethren churchgoers. This was hypothesised as a result of evidence from overseas studies which indicated that there was a more pronounced authority structure in Pentecostal churches than in Plymouth Brethren congregations.

To provide information as to whether this was true

⁷ Question 3(a).

of the churches surveyed, three questions were designed to determine the extent to which the respondents felt their church leaders were influential in determining the political attitudes of members of their congregations.⁸ The response to all three questions supported the hypothesis. Whereas 84.1% of the Plymouth Brethren respondents stated that most of the people in their church decided their own opinions on social and political issues, rather than following those of the church leaders, only 57.8% of the Pentecostal respondents did so.

This hypothesis is also supported by the replies to the questions which asked the respondents how much the political attitudes of their church leaders had influenced their own opinions. Only 26.5% of the Plymouth Brethren respondents could even recall a reference to the 1975 general election from their church pulpit. This compares with 79.5% of the Pentecostal churchgoers surveyed. Furthermore, only two of the Plymouth Brethren respondents admitted being influenced by what they had heard from their church pulpit concerning the election. By contrast, of the 128 Pentecostal respondents who recalled the reference to the election, 46% acknowledged that their voting had been influenced to some extent by what they had heard. These results provide strong support for the hypothesis that the political opinions of the Pentecostal pastors had more impact on their congregation than those of the elders in the Plymouth Brethren churches.

⁸ Questions 16-18 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; 15-17 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

The considerable influence of the Pentecostal pastors on the political attitudes of their congregation may be partly a consequence of the emphasis of that church on moral issues. It was found that those respondents who acknowledged that their voting had been influenced by what they had heard from the pulpit were more likely to select moral issues as the factor having the greatest impact on their voting in the 1975 election (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Pentecostal Respondents Influenced by references to the election from the pulpit, by importance of moral issues to respondents' voting.

Whether Influenced	Importance of Moral Issues to Respondents' Voting		
	Of Primary Importance	Of Secondary Importance	Total
Influence Admitted	53.2% (33)	29.3% (27)	39.0% (60)
Influence Denied	37.1% (23)	43.5% (40)	40.9% (63)
Didn't hear reference to election	9.7% (6)	27.2% (25)	20.1% (31)
Total	100.0% (62)	100.0% (92)	100.0% (154)

$\chi^2 = 11.4218$ 2 Degrees of Freedom.
(Significant at the 0.05 level)

Those who stated that their voting had been influenced by others in their congregation were also more likely to select moral issues as being of greatest importance to their voting in the 1975 election (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Pentecostal Respondents Influenced by Others in the Church, by importance of moral issues to respondents' voting.

Whether Influenced	Importance of Moral Issues to Respondents' Voting		
	Of Primary Importance	Of Secondary Importance	Total
Influence Admitted	54.8% (34)	31.6% (31)	40.6% (65)
Influence Denied	33.9% (21)	57.2% (56)	48.1% (77)
Did Not Vote	11.3% (7)	11.2% (11)	11.3% (18)
Total	100.0% (62)	100.0% (98)	100.0% (160)

$\chi^2 = 9.31$ 2 Degrees of Freedom.
(Significant at the 0.05 level).

It can be seen from these tables that both results were strong enough to attain statistical significance at the 0.05 level, when submitted to a Chi-square test. These findings suggest that the primary impact of the Pentecostal church on the voting pattern of its members during the 1975 election was to impress upon them the importance of moral issues.

5. CHURCH INFLUENCE AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

As outlined in chapter two, one of the objects of this research was to determine the social characteristics of those in the sample who were influenced in their political attitudes by the church. There were several questions included in the questionnaire to determine whether respondents had been influenced in their political attitudes by their church. Among these were two which asked respondents which party they thought most of their

congregation and church leaders had voted for.⁹

The response to these questions indicated that both the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren respondents had a fairly clear perception of the dominant voting pattern of both their congregation and their church leaders. Fully 65.0% of the Pentecostal and 62.8% of the Plymouth Brethren respondents perceived that a majority of the people in their congregation voted National. This compares with only 4.4% and 3.6% of the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren respondents respectively, who felt that a majority voted Labour.¹⁰ The remainder either thought that the congregation was evenly divided between the two major parties, or were not prepared even to guess at which party most of the people in their church had voted for.

An even larger proportion, 78.1% of the Pentecostal and 72.6% of the Plymouth Brethren respondents, perceived that most of their church leaders voted National. By contrast, only 4.4% of the Pentecostal and none of the Plymouth Brethren respondents thought that a majority voted Labour. Only 17.4% and 27.7% of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal sample respectively, either considered that the church leaders were evenly divided between the two major parties or were not prepared to answer the question. Thus,

⁹ Questions 11 and 13.

¹⁰ This was an even more clear cut perception than that of Bochel and Denver's Church of Scotland sample. In that survey, of those who answered the question, 31.5% did not perceive members of their congregations as voting predominantly for one party or the other, whilst 54% saw their congregation as voting Conservative and 14.5% thought a majority voted Labour.

both the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren respondents had a fairly clear perception of the voting patterns of both their congregation and church leaders. This indicates that the political attitudes of members of both samples could have been influenced by their churches.

(i) Occupation

The variable of occupational status is usually regarded as having the greatest impact on voting behaviour. Using the Congalton and Havighurst (1969) ranking of occupational status, the present sample was classified into seven occupational categories.¹¹ Since there were very few occupations classified as being in the highest and lowest categories, these were combined with the second and sixth categories respectively, giving five categories for the purpose of analysis.

To enable a comparison to be made between the occupational status of those in the sample with that of the population as a whole, the 1971 census figures, showing the number of persons employed in each occupation, were also categorised according to the Congalton and Havighurst scale. This comparison is shown in Table 4.5.

It is evident from this table that there is an over-representation of higher status occupations among members of the sample. This is especially marked in the Plymouth Brethren sample. Among respondents of both denominations, however, there is a consistent over-

¹¹ This scale was chosen because, although it was developed in Australia, it is the most comprehensive recent scale of occupational status.

representation of non-manual occupations (indicated by categories 1-3) and, consequently, occupations of manual status (categories 4-5) tend to be under-represented. This is interesting because it is similar to the finding of Estus and Overington (1970), in the United States, that a majority of those regularly attending Protestant churches worked in non-manual occupations.

Table 4.5: Occupational Status: National and Sample Figures Compared.

Category of Occupational Status*	Pentecostal Respondents	Plymouth Brethren Respondents	1971 Census Population
1	5.7% (7)	16.4% (12)	4.0% (41,383)
2	17.7% (22)	27.4% (20)	13.9% (143,860)
3	29.8% (37)	17.8% (13)	12.2% (127,035)
4	27.4% (34)	24.7% (18)	31.0% (321,872)
5	19.4% (24)	13.7% (10)	38.9% (403,301)
Total	100.0% (124)	100.0% (73)	100.0% (1,037,451)

*Category 1 represents the highest ranked occupations, category 5 the lowest.

It is a common finding of surveys of voting behaviour that a majority of those in higher occupational categories tend to vote conservatively.¹² In view of this it is possible that the marked preference for the National Party, shown by both Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal respondents, is able to be explained by the over-representation of higher status occupations among members of both samples. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 give a breakdown of the voting patterns of both samples according to the respondents' occupational status.

¹² See, for example, Mitchell (1969, p.213).

Table 4.6: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Occupational Status,
for Pentecostal Respondents.

Political Party	Occupational Category						
	1	2	3	4	5	Other *	Total
National	57.1%(4)	77.3%(17)	75.7%(28)	61.8%(21)	54.2%(13)	58.3%(21)	65.0%(104)
Labour	- -	18.2% (4)	18.9% (7)	23.5% (8)	20.8% (5)	30.6%(11)	21.9% (35)
Social Credit	- -	4.5% (1)	- -	- -	4.2% (1)	- -	1.2% (2)
Did Not Vote	42.9%(3)	- -	5.4% (2)	14.7% (5)	20.8% (5)	11.1% (4)	11.9% (19)
Total	100.0%(7)	100.0%(22)	100.0%(37)	100.0%(34)	100.0%(24)	100.0%(36)	100.0%(160)

* This category was comprised mainly of housewives and students. In addition there were a few retired respondents who did not state their former occupation, as requested.

Table 4.7: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Occupational Status,
for Plymouth Brethren Respondents.

Political Party	Occupational Category						
	1	2	3	4	5	Others	Total
National	58.4% (7)	70.0%(14)	92.3%(12)	82.3%(14)	30.0% (3)	62.5%(25)	67.0% (75)
Labour	8.3% (1)	5.0% (1)	- -	5.9% (1)	50.0% (5)	17.5% (7)	13.4% (15)
Social Credit/ Values	- -	- -	- -	11.8% (2)	- -	7.5% (3)	4.4% (5)
Did Not Vote	33.3% (4)	25.0% (5)	7.7% (1)	- -	20.0% (2)	12.5% (5)	15.2% (17)
Total	100.0%(12)	100.0%(20)	100.0%(13)	100.0%(17)	100.0%(10)	100.0%(40)	100.0%(112)

It is evident from these tables that the dominant preference of both samples for the National Party cannot be explained solely by the occupational status of the respondents. A strong preference for the National Party was shown by Pentecostal respondents in all occupational categories. Similarly, Plymouth Brethren respondents in all but the lowest occupational category also showed a marked preference for the National Party.

In chapter two, several hypotheses were put forward which attempted to predict the likely social background of those most greatly influenced by the church. Among these was the hypothesis that those of lower occupational status would be most likely to be influenced by their church. Consequently it was predicted that the voting behaviour of those of lower occupational status would differ from the voting pattern of the population as a whole to a greater extent than those with higher status occupations. It was anticipated that this would be resolved by comparing a breakdown, according to occupational status, of the voting pattern of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal samples with a similar breakdown for a cross-section of the population. However, the information which was necessary for such a comparison to be made was not available for use in this paper.¹³ Nevertheless it was possible to gain some indication as to which occupational category in the two samples showed the greatest variance from the population

¹³ It had been anticipated that this data could be gained from the recent surveys of voting behaviour in New Zealand, conducted by the Heylen Research Centre. However, it was discovered that the Centre would not make this information available for the present analysis.

as a whole, by comparing the findings of this research with the results of existing surveys of voting behaviour in New Zealand.¹⁴

As mentioned earlier, it has been a common finding of voting behaviour studies that people with higher status occupations are more likely to vote conservatively than those of lower occupational status. It can be seen from Table 4.7 that the voting pattern of the Plymouth Brethren sample followed this pattern to some extent in that a majority of those in the lowest occupational category favoured the Labour Party. However, among the Pentecostal respondents, even those in the lowest occupational category showed strong support for the National Party. This indicates that among the Pentecostal respondents in particular the voting pattern of those of lower occupational status differed most from that of the population as a whole. If this were the case it would provide support for the hypothesis that in the Pentecostal sample those of lower occupational status were more likely to have been influenced by their church.

However a breakdown, according to occupational status, of the replies of the Pentecostal respondents to the two questions which asked the respondents how much their vote was influenced by the pastors and by the attitudes of others in their church, seems to contradict

¹⁴ In particular, Mitchell's (1969, p.213) 1966 survey in Christchurch is useful here. However, any comparison with these surveys can provide only tentative conclusions. This is because these surveys do not detail the occupations which were included in each category.

this hypothesis. There was a slight, non-significant, trend for those with higher status occupations to be more likely to state that they were influenced by others in their congregation and by their pastors. In the second case, the Chi-square was only 0.06 weaker than the strength required for the relationship to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level (see Table 4.8).

The Pentecostal respondents' perception of the voting patterns of both their congregation and their church leaders was also analysed according to their occupational status. However there was found to be no relationship between the Pentecostal respondents' occupational status and their perception of the voting patterns of either their congregation or their church pastors.

Thus the findings of this research cannot be used to determine the precise impact of the respondents' occupational status on their susceptibility to the influence of the church. It was tentatively concluded from an analysis of the actual voting pattern of the Pentecostal sample that, as hypothesised, those of lower occupational status were more likely to be influenced by the church. However, this was not borne out by the respondents' own assessments of the influence of the church on their voting.

Unlike the Pentecostal sample, it was not obvious from the voting pattern of the Plymouth Brethren respondents whether those of any particular occupational status were more likely to have been influenced by their church (see Table 4.7). In addition there was found to be no

Table 4.8: Percentage of Pentecostal Respondents influenced by references to the election from the pulpit, by Occupational Status.

Whether Influenced	Occupational Category						
	1	2	3	4	5	Others	Total
Influence Admitted	57.1%(4)	40.9% (9)	45.9%(17)	35.3%(12)	20.8% (5)	36.1%(13)	37.5% (60)
Influence Denied	14.3%(1)	45.5%(10)	35.2%(13)	50.0%(17)	54.2%(13)	36.1%(13)	41.9% (67)
Didn't hear reference to election	28.6%(2)	13.6% (3)	18.9% (7)	14.7% (5)	25.0% (6)	27.8%(10)	20.6% (33)
Total	100.0%(7)	100.0%(22)	100.0%(37)	100.0%(34)	100.0%(24)	100.0%(36)	100.0%(160)

$$\chi^2 = 3.78$$

1 Degree of freedom.

(For details of the Chi-square, see Table 4, Appendix II.)

relationship between the occupational status of the Plymouth Brethren respondents and their perception of the voting patterns of either their church elders or their congregation. This research therefore fails to confirm the hypothesis that among the Plymouth Brethren sample those of lower occupational status were more likely to have been influenced by their church.

(ii) Education

Another hypothesis advanced in chapter two was that less educated respondents would be more likely to have been influenced in their political attitudes by the church. Two questions were designed to measure educational status. One asked the respondents how old they were when they left school,¹⁵ the other asked whether they had ever had any tertiary education and, if so, of what kind.¹⁶

The results did not confirm the hypothesis that the less educated respondents would be more likely to have been influenced by their church. Within both samples, where statistically significant tendencies were evident, these were in the opposite direction to that hypothesised.

Within the Pentecostal sample there was a slight, non-significant trend for the better educated respondents to be more likely to state that their voting had been influenced by others in their church. The better educated Pentecostal respondents were also the most likely to state that their church pastors had influenced their voting. When school

¹⁵ Question 30 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; 27 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

¹⁶ Question 31 in the Plymouth Brethren questionnaire; 28 in the Pentecostal questionnaire.

Table 4.9: Percentage of Pentecostal Respondents influenced in their voting by references to the election from the pulpit, by School Leaving Age.

Whether Influenced	School Leaving Age				
	15 Years or Younger	16 Years	17 Years or Older	No Age Stated	Total
Influence Admitted	34.9% (15)	27.9% (12)	46.3% (31)	28.6% (2)	37.5% (60)
Influence Denied	41.9% (18)	55.8% (24)	34.3% (23)	28.6% (2)	41.9% (67)
Did Not Vote	23.2% (10)	16.3% (7)	19.4% (13)	42.8% (3)	20.6% (33)
Total	100.0% (43)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (67)	100.0% (7)	100.0% (160)

$\chi^2 = 3.89$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

1 Degree of freedom.

(For details of the Chi-square, see Table 5, Appendix II.)

leaving age was used to measure the respondents' education, this relationship was statistically significant at the 0.05 level (see Table 4.9), though not when education was indicated by the respondents' tertiary training.

There was found to be no marked relationship between the education of the Pentecostal respondents and their voting behaviour (see Tables 4.10 and 4.11). However it is evident from these tables that there was a slight non-significant trend for the more educated respondents to be more likely to vote National. This further refutes the above hypothesis.

Neither is the hypothesis that the less educated were more likely to have been influenced by their church supported by an analysis of the Pentecostal respondents' perceptions of the voting patterns of their congregation and church pastors. Although only one of the four relationships is statistically significant at the 0.05 level, respondents who were better educated at both the secondary and tertiary level were more likely to have perceived that a majority, both of their congregation and their church pastors, voted National. The strongest of these relationships is shown in Table 6, Appendix II.

Thus there was no evidence from the results of this research to support the hypothesis that within the Pentecostal sample the less educated were more likely to have been influenced by their church. All statistically significant relationships between the respondents' education, and the degree to which they had been influenced by their church, were found to be in the opposite direction to that

Table 4.10: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Tertiary Education,
for Pentecostal Respondents.

Political Party	Tertiary Education *			
	None	Technical	Professional	Total
National	59.0% (36)	75.4% (43)	59.5% (25)	65.0% (104)
Labour	27.9% (17)	15.8% (9)	21.4% (9)	21.9% (35)
Social Credit	1.6% (1)	1.8% (1)		1.2% (2)
Did Not Vote	11.5% (7)	7.0% (4)	19.1% (8)	11.9% (19)
Total	100.0% (61)	100.0% (57)	100.0% (42)	100.0% (160)

* Respondents tertiary education was classified on the following basis. Those whose tertiary education consisted of an apprenticeship, Technical Institute training, nursing or similar training, were included in the technical category. Those with University or Teacher's College training were included in the professional category.

Table 4.11: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by School Leaving Age,
for Pentecostal Respondents.

Political Party	School Leaving Age				
	15 Years or Younger	16 Years	17 Years or Older	No age stated	Total
National	60.5% (26)	62.8% (27)	70.1% (47)	57.1% (4)	65.0% (104)
Labour	25.6% (11)	18.6% (8)	19.4% (13)	42.9% (3)	21.9% (35)
Social Credit		4.7% (2)	-		1.2% (2)
Did Not Vote	13.9% (6)	13.9% (6)	10.5% (7)		11.9% (19)
Total	100.0% (43)	100.0% (43)	100.0% (67)	100.0% (7)	100.0% (160)

hypothesised.

A similar conclusion is suggested by the replies of the Plymouth Brethren respondents. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 give a breakdown of the voting patterns of the Plymouth Brethren sample, according to the respondents' education. It is evident from these tables that there is a slight, non-significant tendency for the better educated respondents to support the National Party to a greater extent than those less educated. Since the National Party was supported by a large majority of the Plymouth Brethren sample, this trend may be taken as an indication of the inaccuracy of the hypothesis that the less educated would have been most influenced by the church.

Table 4.12: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Tertiary Education, for Plymouth Brethren Respondents.

Political Party	Tertiary Education			
	None	Technical	Professional	Total
National	56.1% (23)	78.1% (25)	69.2% (27)	67.0% (75)
Labour	17.1% (7)	12.5% (4)	10.3% (4)	13.4% (15)
Values/ Social Credit	4.9% (2)	- -	7.7% (3)	4.4% (5)
Did Not Vote	21.9% (9)	9.4% (3)	12.8% (5)	15.2% (17)
Total	100.0% (41)	100.0% (32)	100.0% (39)	100.0% (112)

Table 4.13: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by School Leaving Age,
for Plymouth Brethren Respondents.

Political Party	School Leaving Age				
	15 Years or Younger	16 Years	17 Years or Older	No Age Stated	Total
National	60.6% (20)	72.0% (18)	69.4% (34)	60.0% (3)	67.0% (75)
Labour	21.2% (7)	8.0% (2)	10.2% (5)	20.0% (1)	13.4% (15)
Values/Social Credit	3.0% (1)	- -	8.2% (4)	- -	4.4% (5)
Did Not Vote	15.2% (5)	20.0% (5)	12.2% (6)	20.0% (1)	15.2% (17)
Total	100.0% (33)	100.0% (25)	100.0% (49)	100.0% (5)	100.0% (112)

The more educated Plymouth Brethren respondents were also found to have a slightly more accurate perception of the voting patterns of both their congregation and their church elders. Although none of these relationships were strong enough to attain statistical significance at the 0.05 level, they further refute the hypothesis that the less educated members of the sample would be most likely to have been influenced by their church.

(iii) Social Status

A single index of each respondent's social status was constructed by combining the three indicators of occupational and educational status. Since two of these three indicators measured the education of the respondents, these were each given half the weight of the variable of occupation. Table 7, Appendix II, shows the social status of members of both samples, as measured by the new index.

When the replies of the Pentecostal sample were analysed according to the respondent's social status, as indicated by this index, the earlier finding that those of higher social status were more likely to have been influenced by their church was not refuted. However, the relationship was no stronger than was evident with the separate indicators of educational and occupational status. In fact, none of the results gained were strong enough to be statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

The use of the index of social status to analyse the Plymouth Brethren sample produced similar results. Again a slight trend was apparent for those of higher social status to have political attitudes which coincided

with a majority of their congregation and church leaders. However, in only one instance was this trend statistically significant at the 0.05 level. There was a statistically significant tendency for higher status Plymouth Brethren to perceive more frequently than lower status respondents that a majority of their congregation voted National (see Table 8, Appendix II). These results further refute the hypothesis that respondents of lower occupational and educational status would be more likely to have been influenced by their church.

(iv) Sex

Another of the hypotheses put forward in chapter two was that women would be more likely than men to be influenced in their political attitudes by the church. The replies of the Pentecostal respondents provided some support for this hypothesis, though the response of the Plymouth Brethren sample did not.

Within the Pentecostal sample, women were more likely to state that they had been influenced by the political attitudes of both their congregation and their church leaders. This is shown by Tables 4.14 and 4.15. It can be seen from these tables that both these relationships were strong enough to attain statistical significance at the 0.05 level. These findings would appear to support the hypothesis that female churchgoers were more likely to have been influenced by the political attitudes of both their church leaders and of others in their congregation.

Table 4.14: Percentage of Pentecostal Respondents influenced in their voting by others in the church, by Sex.

Whether Influenced	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Influence Admitted	28.8% (19)	48.9% (46)	40.6% (65)
Influence Denied	54.5% (36)	43.6% (41)	48.1% (77)
Did Not Vote	16.7% (11)	7.5% (7)	11.3% (18)
Total	100.0% (66)	100.0% (94)	100.0% (160)

$\chi^2 = 4.57$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).
1 Degree of Freedom.

(For details of the Chi-square, see Table 9, Appendix II.)

Table 4.15: Percentage of Pentecostal Respondents influenced by references to the election from the pulpit, by Sex.

Whether Influenced	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Influence Admitted	27.3% (18)	44.7% (42)	37.5% (60)
Influence Denied	53.0% (35)	34.0% (32)	41.9% (67)
Didn't hear reference to election	19.7% (13)	21.3% (20)	20.6% (33)
Total	100.0% (66)	100.0% (94)	100.0% (160)

$\chi^2 = 6.44$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).
1 Degree of freedom.

(For details of the Chi-square, see Table 10, Appendix II.)

If it were shown that women were more likely than men to have supported the National Party in the 1975 election this would also constitute evidence that women were more likely to have been influenced in their political attitudes by the church. This is because the primary impact of both the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren churches of the voting of their members appears to have been to encourage

Table 4.16: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Sex,
for Pentecostal Respondents.

Political Party	Male	Female	Both Sexes
National	60.6% (40)	68.1% (64)	65.0% (104)
Labour	18.2% (12)	24.5% (23)	21.9% (35)
Social Credit	1.5% (1)	1.0% (1)	1.2% (2)
Did Not Vote	19.7% (13)	6.4% (6)	11.9% (19)
Total	100.0% (66)	100.0% (94)	100.0% (160)

Table 4.17: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Sex,
for Plymouth Brethren Respondents.

Political Party	Male	Female	Both Sexes
National	62.2% (33)	71.2% (42)	67.0% (75)
Labour	15.1% (8)	11.9% (7)	13.4% (15)
Social Credit/Values	5.7% (3)	3.4% (2)	4.4% (5)
Did Not Vote	17.0% (9)	13.5% (8)	15.2% (17)
Total	100.0% (53)	100.0% (59)	100.0% (112)

support for the National Party. Tables 4.16 and 4.17 give a breakdown of the voting patterns of the two samples, according to the respondents' sex.

Table 4.16 shows that when the voting pattern of the Pentecostal sample was analysed according to the respondents' sex no marked deviation from the denominational trend was found. The slight tendency of the female Pentecostal respondents to be more likely to vote National was not strong enough to attain significance at the 0.05 level. There appears to be some contradiction between this result and the previous finding within the

Pentecostal sample that women were more likely than men to say they had been influenced in their voting by their pastors and by others in their congregation. It may be that among the Pentecostal respondents women tended to interpret the word 'influenced' differently from men. Another possible explanation is that because the male Pentecostal respondents were more concerned to appear independent in their voting they were less willing to acknowledge that they had been influenced by other members of their church. In any case the voting pattern of the Pentecostal sample does not support the contention that women were more likely than men to have been influenced by their church.

Among the Pentecostal respondents, women were also no more likely than men to perceive either that their church leaders or their congregation tended to favour National. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that within the Pentecostal sample women were no more likely than men to have been influenced either by their pastors or by others in their congregation.

It is evident from Table 4.17 that there was also no marked relationship between the voting pattern of the Plymouth Brethren sample and the sex of the respondents. The slight tendency for female respondents to be more likely to vote National was not statistically significant at the 0.05 level. Neither did female Plymouth Brethren respondents have a more accurate perception of the voting behaviour of either their elders or their church congregation. In fact, male respondents were more likely to identify both

their church congregations and elders as favouring National. However, neither of these relationships was so strong that it attained statistical significance at the 0.05 level.

Thus there is little evidence in the replies of the Plymouth Brethren respondents to support the hypothesis that women were more likely than men to have been influenced by the church. This concurs with the results gained from an analysis of the replies of the Pentecostal respondents.

(v) Age

It was also hypothesised that age would be a relevant variable in determining which people would be most likely to have been influenced in their political attitudes by the church. It was hypothesised that among the Pentecostal respondents the younger churchgoers would be more likely to have been influenced by their church. If this were true, it seems probable that the younger Pentecostal respondents would have been more likely than older church members to have voted National, since this was the dominant preference of those in the church. Tables 4.18 and 4.19 give a breakdown of the voting patterns of both samples in the 1975 election according to the respondent's age.

As is evident from Table 4.18, it was respondents over the age of 40 who were the most likely to have voted National within the Pentecostal sample. However, this relationship was not strong enough to attain statistical significance at the 0.05 level. Younger Pentecostal respondents were also no more likely than older members of the sample to state that they had been influenced by either

Table 4.18: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Age, for Pentecostal Respondents.

Political Party	Age					
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-60	Over 60	Total
National	60.5% (46)	64.3% (18)	69.6% (16)	75.0% (9)	71.4% (15)	65.0% (104)
Labour	18.4% (14)	25.0% (7)	21.8% (5)	25.0% (3)	28.6% (6)	21.9% (35)
Social Credit	1.3% (1)	- -	4.3% (1)	- -	- -	1.2% (2)
Did Not Vote	19.8% (15)	10.7% (3)	4.3% (1)	- -	- -	11.9% (19)
Total	100.0% (76)	100.0% (28)	100.0% (23)	100.0% (12)	100.0% (21)	100.0% (160)

Table 4.19: Percentage Distribution of Vote, by Age,
for Plymouth Brethren Respondents.

Political Party	Age Group					
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-60	Over 60	Total
National	73.6% (25)	75.0% (18)	66.7% (16)	44.5% (8)	63.6% (7)	66.7% (74)
Labour	8.8% (3)	4.2% (1)	12.5% (3)	33.3% (6)	18.2% (2)	13.5% (15)
Social Credit/Values	8.8% (3)	8.3% (2)	- -	- -	- -	4.5% (5)
Did Not Vote	8.8% (3)	12.5% (3)	20.8% (5)	22.2% (4)	18.2% (2)	15.3% (17)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (111)

their pastors or by others in their congregation.¹⁷

The unimportance of age as a predictive variable was confirmed by an analysis of the replies to those questions which asked the Pentecostal respondents which party they thought both their pastors and those in their congregation had voted for.¹⁸ There was found to be no statistically significant relationship between the age of the Pentecostal respondents and their perception of the voting patterns of either their congregation or their pastors. These results indicate that the hypothesis that the younger Pentecostal respondents would have been most influenced by their church is not correct.

It was also hypothesised that it would be the older Plymouth Brethren respondents who would be the most likely to have been influenced by their church. It was thought, in more well-established denominations, that the older members would be most likely to have been socialised into adopting the dominant political and social attitudes of those in their church. However, it is evident from Table 4.19 that respondents under the age of 40 were the most likely to vote National. Conversely, older Plymouth Brethren respondents were more likely to have voted Labour or not to have voted. Furthermore, this relationship was strong enough to attain statistical significance at the 0.05 level.

¹⁷ Younger respondents were considered to be those aged 18-39 years; older respondents were 40 years or over.

¹⁸ Questions 11 and 13.

It was also found that younger Plymouth Brethren respondents were most likely to perceive that a majority of both their congregation and their church elders voted National (see Tables 4.20 and 4.21). As is evident from these tables, both these relationships were strong enough to attain statistical significance at the 0.05 level. These findings indicate that the younger Plymouth Brethren respondents were both more aware of the political attitudes of those in their congregation and their church elders and more inclined to follow those attitudes by voting National.

It was not surprising then to find that younger Plymouth Brethren respondents were also the most likely to state that they had discussed politics with others in their congregation (see Table 4.22). It seems that younger members of the Plymouth Brethren sample were less reticent about discussing politics with their fellow churchgoers. This may well be related to the finding that some of the older Plymouth Brethren respondents felt that it was wrong to vote. Certainly the results of this study indicate that younger members of the Plymouth Brethren churches were both more aware of, and more likely to follow, the dominant voting pattern in their church.

Table 4.20: Perception of the political party supported by most of their congregation,
by Age, for Plymouth Brethren respondents.

Political Party Perceived	Age Group					
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-60	Over 60	Total
National	82.4% (28)	70.8% (17)	50.0% (12)	72.2% (13)	9.1% (1)	64.0% (71)
Other *	17.6% (6)	29.2% (7)	50.0% (12)	27.8% (5)	90.9% (10)	36.0% (40)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (111)

* This category includes respondents who thought most of their congregation voted Labour, those who thought their congregation was evenly divided between the two major parties, and those who would not even guess at the party which they thought most of their congregation had voted for.

$\chi^2 = 9.65$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

1 Degree of freedom.

(For details of the Chi-square, see Table 11, Appendix II.)

Table 4.21: Perception of the political party supported by most of the elders in their church, by Age, for Plymouth Brethren Respondents.

Political Party Perceived	Age Group					
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-60	Over 60	Total
National	88.2% (30)	79.2% (19)	58.3% (14)	77.8% (14)	45.5% (5)	73.9% (82)
Other *	11.8% (4)	20.8% (5)	41.7% (10)	22.2% (4)	54.5% (6)	26.1% (29)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (111)

* This category includes both respondents who thought their church elders were evenly divided between the two major parties, and those who would not even guess at which party they thought most of their church elders had voted for.

$\chi^2 = 7.08$ (Significant at 0.05 level).

1 Degree of freedom.

(For details of the Chi-square, see Table 12, Appendix II.)

Table 4.22: Percentage of Plymouth Brethren Respondents who had discussed politics with others in their church, by Age.

Discussion of Politics	Age Group					
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-60	Over 60	Total
Had Discussed Politics	76.5% (26)	66.7% (16)	58.3% (14)	38.9% (7)	63.6% (7)	63.1% (70)
Had Not Discussed Politics	23.5% (8)	33.3% (8)	41.7% (10)	61.1% (11)	36.4% (4)	36.9% (41)
Total	100.0% (34)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (18)	100.0% (11)	100.0% (111)

$\chi^2 = 4.55$ (Significant at the 0.05 level)
1 Degree of freedom.

(For details of Chi-square, see Table 13, Appendix II.)

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Many previous studies of nonconformist denominations have indicated that members of these churches tend to have conservative political attitudes. The results of the present research suggest that a majority of Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal churchgoers are also conservative in their political orientation. Around two-thirds of the respondents surveyed from each of these denominations voted for the National Party in the 1975 general election. Furthermore, approximately half the respondents in each sample stated that they regularly voted for the National Party.

The conservative political attitudes of many of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal churchgoers surveyed may be partly explained by their high occupational status. A comparison of the occupations of those surveyed with the 1971 census breakdown of occupations for the total population, revealed an over-representation of higher status occupations among both the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal respondents. However, it was also evident from the findings that the conservative political attitudes of those in both samples could not be explained solely by the occupational status of the respondents. Among respondents of every level of occupational status, the electoral support for the

National Party was greater than is usual in the population as a whole. In addition, the strong support for the National Party among those surveyed could not be completely explained by either the age, sex, or education of the respondents.

It was suggested in chapter two that a majority of theologically fundamentalist Christians would also have conservative political views. This was because theologically conservative Christians tend to share the pessimistic view of man's nature, held by people who are politically conservative. The dominance of conservative political attitudes among those surveyed in this research provided some support for this contention. It was also evident from the findings of this research that moral issues played an important role in determining the voting of both the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal respondents in the 1975 election. Since the National Party was generally viewed as being the more conservative on these issues, this factor also encouraged members of both these denominations to support the National Party.

Overseas studies of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal denominations have indicated that there is usually a more marked authority structure within Pentecostal churches than is the case within Plymouth Brethren churches. The results of this study suggest that this may also be true of the Pentecostal and Plymouth Brethren churches in New Zealand. Whereas the pastors of the Pentecostal church surveyed appear to have played a major role in shaping the political opinions of those in their congregation, the

political attitudes of the Plymouth Brethren elders seem to have had very little impact upon other members of their church.

One of the aims of this study was to identify the type of people most likely to have been influenced by the church in their political attitudes. In view of Goode's finding that lower class churchgoers tended to display a greater level of religious concern, it was thought that respondents of a lower social status may be the most likely to have been influenced by the church in their political attitudes. However there was found to be no consistent relationship between the social status of either the Plymouth Brethren or Pentecostal respondents and the degree to which they had been influenced by the church in their voting. Neither was there any indication that less educated respondents were more likely to have been influenced in their political attitudes by the church.

It was hypothesised in chapter two that since women tended to be more active in organised religion than men they may also be more likely than men to be influenced by the church in their political attitudes. However, this was not supported by the results of this research. There was found to be no consistent relationship between the sex of the respondents and the degree to which their voting had been influenced by the church.

It was also hypothesised in chapter two that there would be a relationship between the age of the respondents and the degree to which their political attitudes had been influenced by the church. It was thought that within the

fairly well-established Plymouth Brethren denomination the older churchgoers were most likely to have been influenced in their political attitudes by the church. By contrast, it was suggested that within the Pentecostal denomination the younger members would be more likely to have been influenced by the church in their political attitudes.

Neither of these hypotheses was supported by the results of this study. There was found to be no relationship between the age of the Pentecostal respondents and the degree to which their voting had been influenced by the church. However, among the Plymouth Brethren respondents there was a consistent relationship between age and the influence of the church on their voting, but in the opposite direction to that hypothesised. Respondents under the age of 40 were found to be more likely to have been influenced by the church in their voting. Younger Plymouth Brethren respondents were also found to be more willing to discuss politics with other members of their congregation.

It seems likely that this finding was at least partly related to the religious teachings of the Plymouth Brethren denomination. In the past it was a common teaching of many Plymouth Brethren churches that politics was "this-worldly" and should therefore be completely avoided. The findings of this study indicated that this teaching was more popular among older members of the Plymouth Brethren church than among the younger members. It seems likely that this was related to the greater willingness of the younger Plymouth Brethren respondents to discuss politics with others

in their church.

It seems probable that the influence of the Pentecostal church on the political attitudes of its members was also closely related to the religious teachings of the church. Within the Pentecostal sample, the two strongest relationships found were the two correlations between those respondents who stated that moral issues had had the greatest impact on their voting in the 1975 election and those stating that they had been influenced in their voting by others in their congregation and their church elders. This suggests that the attitude of the Pentecostal respondents towards moral issues was an important determinant of whether their voting was influenced by their church.

Thus, in general, it was not possible to identify, by their sociological characteristics, those respondents whose political attitudes had been influenced by the church. This suggests that where theologically fundamentalist denominations are under consideration it may be more appropriate to focus on the religious teachings of the churches and the degree to which these teachings find acceptance among the congregations.

The results of this study also suggest that it may be fruitful for future research to focus on churches composed mainly of lower class members. The present survey supported the finding of several overseas studies that a majority of those attending nonconformist churches vote Conservatively. If a similar survey were carried out among churches where a lower class social outlook was dominant, this would help

to further determine the extent to which the conservative political attitudes of these nonconformist churchgoers are able to be explained by their social status.

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APPENDIX I: THE QUESTIONNAIRES

The Pentecostal Questionnaire

These questionnaires are completely anonymous and confidential.

.....

Please feel free to object to any question by writing 'object' beside it.

In general, when answering these questions you will just have to place a tick in the appropriate bracket.

For example, about how often do you read a newspaper? once a day (), once a week (✓), once a month (), never ().

.....

1. About how regularly do you attend Church?
About once a week or more (), about once a month (), occasionally (), never ().
2. Did you vote in the 1975 general election?
Yes (), No (), Ineligible ().
3. If you did vote in the 1975 general election, for which party did you vote? National (), Labour (), Social Credit (), Values (), other (Please specify)
.....
4. Do you regularly support/vote for one particular party?
Yes (), No ().
5. If so, please state which party.
National (), Labour (), Social Credit (), Values ().
6. How strongly would you say that you identify with that party?
Very strongly (), Fairly strongly (), Not very strongly ().
7. How much would you say that you discuss politics with other people from your Church, outside your immediate family?
A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (), Not at all ().
8. And how much do you think your vote in the 1975 general election was influenced by the attitudes of others in your church?
A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (), Not at all (), Didn't vote ().

9. Would you say that, in general, most people in your church think in a similar fashion about political issues? Yes (), No (), Don't know ().
10. If so, would you agree with most of these attitudes? Yes (), No (), Don't know ().
11. Which Party do you think most of the people at your Church voted for in the 1975 general election? National (), Labour (), Social Credit (), Values (), Don't know (), Didn't vote ().
12. If you answered "Don't know" to the previous question, which party would you guess most of the people at your Church voted for? National (), Labour (), about 50-50 (), Didn't Vote ().
13. Which party do you think the pastors in your Church voted for in the 1975 general election? National (), Labour (), Social Credit (), Values (), Don't know (), Didn't vote ().
14. If you answered "Don't know" to the previous question, which party would you guess the pastors at your church voted for? National (), Labour (), One for each (), Didn't vote ().
15. Can you recall any reference to the 1975 general election being made from your Church pulpit? Yes (), No ().
16. If so, how much did it influence your vote in the 1975 general election? A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (), Not at all ().
17. Would you say that most people in your church decide their own opinions on social and political issues or follow those of the pastors? Decide their own (), follow those of the pastors (), Don't know ().
18. How much do you think your Christian beliefs have influenced your political ideas? A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (), Not at all ().
19. If you think they do, would you like to explain how? (Continue over page if necessary)
20. Which single issue would you say was of greatest importance in helping you to make up your mind in the 1975 general election. Economy (), Leadership (), Moral Issues (e.g. Abortion) (), Superannuation (), Immigration (), Sporting Relations with South Africa (), Compulsory Unionism (), Other (please specify)

21. Do you think your attitude to this issue was greatly influenced by the fact that you are a Christian?
Yes (), No (), Don't know ().
22. If you answered 'yes' to the previous question, would you like to explain how your Christian beliefs were important in relation to this issue?
23. What is your personal reaction to the following people?
Mr Muldoon. Like a lot (), Like a little (),
Indifferent to (), Dislike (),
Can't Stand ().
Mr Rowling. Like a lot (), Like a little (),
Indifferent to (), Dislike (),
Can't Stand ().
Mr Beetham. Like a lot (), Like a little (),
Indifferent to (), Dislike (),
Can't Stand ().
24. Are there any other politicians you especially like or dislike? Please give reasons.

And finally, here are a few questions about yourself.

25. Are you Male (), or Female ().
26. In which age group are you ?
18-29 (), 30-39 (), 40-49 (), 50-60 (),
over 60 ().
27. How old were you when you left school?
28. Did you receive any further education or special training after you left school?
No (), Apprenticeship (), Technical Institute (),
Teacher's College (), University (), other (please state)
29. What is your occupation? (If retired, state former occupation) (please be as specific as possible).
.....
30. Into which category does your occupation fall?
Self-employed (), Wage and Salary earner (),
Not applicable ().
31. In which suburb do you live? (Please be specific).

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

The Plymouth Brethren Questionnaire

.....
Please feel free to object to any questions by writing 'object' beside it.

In general, when answering these questions you will just have to place a tick in the appropriate bracket.

For example, about how often do you read a newspaper? once a day (), once a week (✓), once a month (), never ().

.....

1. About how regularly do you attend Church?
About once a week or more (), about once a month (), occasionally (), never ().

2. Did you vote in the 1975 general election?
Yes (), No (), Ineligible ().

Here is a question about your voting in that election.

- 3(a) If you did not vote in the 1975 general election, was it because you believe it is wrong to vote?
Yes (), No ().

- 3(b) If you did vote in the 1975 general election; for which party did you vote?
National (), Labour (), Social Credit (), Values (), Other (please specify)

4. Do you regularly support/vote for one particular party?
Yes (), No ().

5. If so, please state which party.
National (), Labour (), Social Credit (), Values ().

6. How strongly would you say that you identify with that party? Very strongly (), Fairly strongly (), Not very strongly ().

7. How much would you say that you discuss politics with other people from your church, outside your immediate family?
A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (), Not at all ().

8. And how much do you think your vote in the 1975 general election was influenced by the attitudes of others in your Church?
A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (), Not at all (), Didn't vote ().

9. Would you say that, in general, most people in your Church think in a similar fashion about political issues?
Yes (), No (), Don't know ().

10. If so, would you agree with most of those attitudes?
Yes (), No (), Don't know ().
11. Which Party do you think most of the people at your Church voted for in the 1975 general election?
National (), Labour (), Social Credit (),
Values (), Don't know (), Didn't vote ().
12. If you answered "Don't know" to the previous question, which party would you guess most of the people at your Church voted for?
National (), Labour (), about 50-50 (),
Didn't vote ().
13. Which party do you think most of the elders in your Church voted for in the 1975 general election?
National (), Labour (), Social Credit (),
Values (), Don't know (), Didn't vote ().
14. If you answered "Don't know" to the previous question, which party would you guess most of the elders at your Church voted for?
National (), Labour (), about 50-50 (),
Didn't vote ().
15. Are you an elder? Yes (), No ().
16. Can you recall any reference to the 1975 general election being made from your Church pulpit?
Yes (), No ().
17. If so, how much did it influence your vote in the 1975 general election?
A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (),
Not at all ().
18. Would you say that most people in your church decide their own opinions on social and political issues or follow those of the elders?
Decide their own (), follow those of the elders (),
Don't know ().
19. How much do you think your Christian beliefs have influenced your political ideas?
A great deal (), Somewhat (), A little (),
Not at all ().
20. If you think they do, would you like to explain how?
(continue over page if necessary).
21. What do you consider to have been the single most important issue in the 1975 general election?
22. Do you think your attitude to this issue was greatly influenced by the fact that you are a Christian?
Yes (), No (), Don't know ().

23. If you answered 'Yes' to the previous question, would you like to explain how your Christian beliefs were important in relation to that issue?
24. Are there any politicians in New Zealand you especially like?
25. If so, please say why.
26. Are there any politicians in New Zealand you do not like?
27. If so, please say why.

And finally, here are a few questions about yourself.

28. Are you Male (), or Female ().
29. In which age group are you?
18-29 (), 30-39 (), 40-49 (), 50-60 (),
over 60 ().
30. How old were you when you left school?
31. Did you receive any further education or special training after you left school?
No (), Apprenticeship (), Technical Institute (),
Teacher's College (), University (),
other (please state)
32. What is your occupation? (If retired, state former occupation) (please be as specific as possible)
.....
33. Into which category does your occupation fall?
Self-employed (), Wage and Salary earner (),
Not applicable ().
34. In which suburb do you live? (Please be specific).
35. Finally, is there any further comment you would like to make concerning the contents of this questionnaire?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

APPENDIX II: FURTHER TABLES OF DATA

Table 1: Analysis of the Plymouth Brethren congregations surveyed, by sex. Comparison of those who replied, with those who did not.

Whether Replied	Sex		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Replied	61.4% (54)	54.6% (59)	57.7% (113)
Did Not Reply	38.6% (34)	45.4% (49)	42.3% (83)
Total	100.0% (88)	100.0% (108)	100.0% (196)

$\chi^2 = 0.90$ (not significant at the 0.05 level).

Table 2: Analysis of the Plymouth Brethren congregations surveyed, by age. Comparison of those who replied, with those who did not.

Whether Replied	Age Group					
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-60	Over 60	Total
Replied	68.0% (34)	53.3% (24)	60.0% (24)	52.7% (19)	45.8% (11)	57.4% (112)
Did Not Reply	32.0% (16)	46.7% (21)	40.0% (16)	47.3% (17)	54.2% (13)	42.6% (83)
Total	100.0% (50)	100.0% (45)	100.0% (40)	100.0% (36)	100.0% (24)	100.0% (195)

$\chi^2 = 1.97$ (not significant at the 0.05 level)

Table 2(a): Chi-square test for Table 2, above, at 1 degree of freedom.

Whether Replied	Age Group		
	Under 49	Over 49	Total
Replied	82 (77.54)	30 (34.46)	112
Did Not Reply	53 (57.46)	30 (25.54)	83
Total	135	60	195

$\chi^2 = 1.97$ (not significant at the 0.05 level)

Figures in brackets indicate the expected values.

Table 3: Analysis of the Plymouth Brethren congregations surveyed, by occupational status.
Comparison of those who replied, with those who did not.

Whether Replied	Occupational Status						
	1	2	3	4	5	Others	Total*
Replied	75.0%(12)	71.4%(20)	52.0%(13)	69.2%(18)	62.5%(10)	55.5%(40)	61.7%(113)
Did Not Reply	25.0% (4)	28.6% (8)	48.0%(12)	30.8% (8)	37.5% (6)	44.5%(32)	38.3% (70)
Total	100.0%(16)	100.0%(28)	100.0%(25)	100.0%(26)	100.0%(16)	100.0%(72)	100.0%(183)

*In the case of 13 of the members of these denominations it was not possible to gain information about their occupational status.

$\chi^2 = 2.95$ (not significant at the 0.05 level)

Table 3(a): Chi square test for Table 3, above, at 1 degree of freedom.

Whether Replied	Occupational Status		
	1-2	3-5/Others	Total
Replied	32 (27.17)	81 (85.83)	113
Did Not Reply	12 (16.83)	58 (53.17)	70
Total	44	139	183

$\chi^2 = 2.95$ (not significant at the 0.05 level)

Table 4: Chi square test for Table 4.8, at 1 degree of freedom

Whether Influenced	Occupational Category		
	1-3	4-5	Total
Influence Admitted	30 (25.13)	17 (21.87)	47
Influence Denied	24 (28.87)	30 (25.13)	54
Total	54	47	101

$\chi^2 = 3.78$ (not significant at 0.05 level)

Table 5: Chi square test for Table 4.9, at 1 degree of freedom.

Whether Influenced	School Leaving Age		
	16 years or younger/ No Age Stated	17 years or older	Total
Influence Admitted	29 (34.49)	31 (25.51)	60
Influence Denied	44 (38.51)	23 (28.49)	67
Total	73	54	127

$\chi^2=3.89$ (Significant at 0.05 level)

Table 6: Perception of the political party supported by most of their congregation, by tertiary education, for Pentecostal respondents.

Political Party Perceived	Tertiary Education			
	None	Technical	Professional	Total
National	54.1% (33)	71.9% (41)	71.4% (30)	65.0% (104)
Other *	45.9% (28)	28.1% (16)	28.6% (12)	35.0% (56)
Total	100.0% (61)	100.05 (57)	100.0% (42)	100.0% (160)

* See Table 4.21 for details of the replies included in this category.

$\chi^2 = 5.16$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

Table 6(a): Chi square test for Table 6 at 1 degree of freedom.

Political Party Perceived	Tertiary Education		
	None	Technical/Professional	Total
National	33 (39.65)	71 (64.35)	104
Other	28 (21.35)	28 (34.65)	56
Total	61	99	160

$$\chi^2 = 5.16 \text{ (Significant at the 0.05 level)}$$

Table 7: Social status of respondents, by denomination.

Social Status Score*	Pentecostals	Plymouth Brethren	Total
2	20.0% (32)	18.7% (21)	9.5% (26)
2.5	9.4% (15)	4.5% (5)	7.3% (20)
3	13.8% (22)	11.6% (13)	18.8% (51)
3.5	5.6% (9)	3.6% (4)	8.8% (24)
4	13.8% (22)	14.3% (16)	14.0% (38)
4.5	8.1% (13)	9.8% (11)	10.7% (29)
5	14.3% (23)	9.8% (11)	12.9% (35)
5.5	5.6% (9)	4.5% (5)	5.1% (14)
6	9.4% (15)	23.2% (26)	12.9% (35)
Total	100.0% (160)	100.0% (112)	100.0% (272)

This score was computed on the following basis. Firstly, respondents were given a score of between 1 and 3, depending on the status of their occupations. (Occupations rated 1-3 on the Congalton and Havighurst scale were given a score of 3; occupations rated 4 on the Congalton and Havighurst scale were given a score of 2; those rated 5-7 on the Congalton and Havighurst scale were given a score of 1). Similarly, respondents were also given a score between 1 and 3 in accordance with their education. This score was the sum of the two measures of education available from the data. (Respondents aged 15 years or less when they left school were given a score of 0.5; respondents aged 16 received a score of 1; those aged 17 or more, a score of 1.5. Similarly respondents with no tertiary education were given a score of 0.5; respondents whose tertiary education was classified as technical, a score of 1; those whose tertiary education was classified as professional were given a score of 1.5.) These three scores were then added to form the index of the respondents' social status. It will be evident from this explanation that a score of 6 represents the highest possible social status, a score of 2 the lowest.

Table 8: Perception of the Political party supported by most of their congregation, by social status, for Plymouth Brethren respondents.

Social Status Score	Political Party Perceived		
	National	Other*	Total
2	19.7% (14)	17.1% (7)	18.7% (21)
2.5	4.2% (3)	4.9% (2)	4.5% (5)
3	7.0% (5)	19.5% (8)	11.6% (13)
3.5	2.8% (2)	4.9% (2)	3.6% (4)
4	11.3% (8)	19.5% (8)	14.3% (16)
4.5	11.3% (8)	7.3% (3)	9.8% (11)
5	12.7% (9)	4.9% (2)	9.8% (11)
5.5	5.6% (4)	2.4% (1)	4.5% (5)
6	25.4% (18)	19.5% (8)	23.2% (26)
Total	100.0% (71)	100.0% (41)	100.0% (112)

*See table 4.20 for details of the replies included in this category.

$\chi^2 = 4.50$ (Significant at the 0.05 level)

Table 8(a): Chi square test for Table 8, above, at 1 degree of freedom.

Social Status Score	Political Party Perceived		
	National	Other	Total
2-4	32 (37.40)	27 (21.60)	59
4.5-6	39 (33.60)	14 (19.40)	53
Total	71	41	112

$\chi^2 = 4.50$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

Table 9: Chi square test for Table 4.14, at 1 degree of freedom.

Whether Influenced	Sex		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Influence Admitted	19 (25.18)	46 (39.82)	65
Influence Denied	36 (29.82)	41 (47.18)	77
Total	55	87	142

$\chi^2 = 4.57$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

Table 10: Chi square test for Table 4.15, at 1 degree of freedom.

Whether Influenced	Sex		
	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Influence Admitted	18 (25.04)	42 (34.96)	60
Influence Denied	35 (27.96)	32 (39.04)	67
Total	53	74	127

$\chi^2 = 6.44$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

Table 11: Chi square test for Table 4.20, at 1 degree of freedom.

Political Party Perceived	Age Group		
	18-39	Over 39	Total
National	45 (37.10)	26 (33.90)	71
Other	13 (19.90)	27 (20.90)	40
Total	58	53	111

$\chi^2 = 9.65$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

Table 12: Chi square test for Table 4.21, at 1 degree of freedom.

Political Party Perceived	Age Group		
	18-39	Over 39	Total
National	49 (42.85)	33 (39.15)	82
Other	9 (15.15)	20 (13.85)	29
Total	58	53	111

$\chi^2 = 7.08$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).

Table 13: Chi square test for Table 4.22, at 1 degree of freedom.

Discussion of Politics	Age Group		
	18-39	Over 39	Total
Had Discussed Politics	42 (36.58)	28 (33.42)	70
Had Not Discussed Politics	16 (21.42)	25 (19.58)	41
Total	58	53	111

$\chi^2 = 4.55$ (Significant at the 0.05 level).